DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 042 141 AL 002 483

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TITLE	Concerning the Classification of the Verb in Swahili.
PUB DATE	Apr 70
NOTE	31p.; Paper presented at the Conference on African Languages and Linguistics, University of Illinois, Urbana, April 24-25, 1970
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.60
DESCRIPTORS	*Classification, Language Instruction, Language Universals, Morphology (Languages), Sentences, Surface Structure, *Swahili, *Syntax, *Verbs
IDENTIFIERS	*Embedding (Language)

ABSTRACT

This paper makes observations on verb classification which are considered relevant to the understanding of Swahili syntax. Three different syntactically relevant approaches are discussed: (1) establishing a set of "basic sentence types" and then classifying verbs according to their occurrence or non-occurrence in sentences of these types; (2) using morphological criteria; (3) grouping together those verbs which behave similarly in relation to the formal restrictions they impose on the embedded strings with which they occur. The bulk of the paper is then given to a discussion of the third approach. Six major types of embedding according to the form of the nuclear verb in the embedded clause are identified and one type, the infinitive, is discussed in great detail. It is felt that the results of verb classification along these lines is interesting because: (1) it is immediately applicable to the teaching of syntax in the language classroom; (2) it provides knowledge of the surface structure necessary for the understanding of the deep structure; and (3) it can be used in the investigation of grammatical universals. (FWB)

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Concerning the classification of the verb in Swahili

Charles L. Eastlack

Instead of discussing all possible ways of classifying the verbs of the Swahili language, I am going to make some observations about verb classifications which seem to me particularly relevant to our understanding of Swahili syntax.[1] To begin with let's consider three different syntactically relevant approaches to verb classification. The first of these is to establish a set of "basic sentence types" and then to classify the verbs of a language according to their occurrence or non-occurrence in sentences of these types. This kind of classification is behind the traditional use of such categories as transitive verb and intransitive verb, and in a more sophisticated form it underlies H. A. Gleason Jr.'s treatment of basic sentence types in English (Gleason 1965:300-304 discussing Roberts 1956 and 1962). For example, Gleason suggests that it is useful in an analysis of English syntax to maintain a distinction between verbs which occur in sentences of the following types:

(1) She gave him money.

(2) Mrs. Murphy taught him Latin.

Given sentences such as

(3) Professor Smith assigned him 100 pages.

(4) Bill wrote him a letter.

we assign the verb of sentence (3) to the same class as that of sentence (1), and the verb of sentence (4) is classified with that of sentence (2). This is

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1. I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Judith Olinick, Willy David Kamera, and Mario Saltarelli, all of whom read a previous draft of this paper and made suggestions which contributed significantly to whatever value it may have in this present version.

not only because of the surface structure resemblance of these pairs of sentences, but also because (3) and (1) on the one hand, and (4) and (2) on the other, behave similarly under transformations which were in fact among the criteria used in defining the basic sentence types. For example:

	(2)	(4)
deletion of first object	Mrs. Murphy taught Latin.	Bill wrote a letter.
deletion of second object	Mrs. Murphy taught him.	Bill wrote him.
passive trans. (first obj. becomes subj.)	He was taught Latin by Mrs. Murphy.	He was written a letter by Bill.
passive trans. (second obj. becomes subj.)	Latin was taught him by Mrs. Murphy.	A letter was written him by Bill.

	(1)	(3)
deletion of first object	She gave money.	Professor Smith assigned 100 pages.
deletion of second cbject	DOES NOT OCCUR	DOES NOT OCCUR
passive trans. (first obj. becomes subj.)	He was given money by her.	He was assigned 100 pages by Professor Smith.
passive trans. (second obj. becomes subj.)	Money was given him by her.	One hundred pages were assigned him by Professor Smith.

On this evidence we say that the verb "write" belongs to the same class as "teach" and that the verb "assign" belongs to the same class as "give". An adequate set of basic sentence types, defined in part by appropriate use of transformational criteria, can be a powerful analytical tool for discovering syntactically relevant subclasses of the verbs of a language.

A second technique for classifying the verbs of a language is to use morphological criteria. I can illustrate this approach with an example from a talk on English "Causative and Inchoative Verbs" given by John Bowers of MIT at a recent meeting of the Cornell Linguistics Circle. Bowers noted the existence of a class of forms[2] such as "thick, hard, soft, dark" which stand in a readily observable morphological relationship to another set of forms "thicken, harden, soften, darken". Not only are these forms related morphologically, they also exhibit a striking syntactic paradigm as the following sentences illustrate:

(5) The stew is thick.

(6) The cook thickened the stew.

(7) The stew was thickened by the cook.

(8) The beurre manié thickened the stew.

(9) The stew was thickened by the beurre manié.

(10) The stew thickened.

(11) The room is dark.

(12) John darkened the room.

(13) The room was darkened by John.

(14) The new curtains darkened the room.

(15) The room was darkened by the new curtains.

(16) The room darkened.

This second technique of verb classification -- the use of morphological criteria in classifying verbs -- has not been exploited to any great degree in English

2. The question of whether these forms should be called "adjectives" or recognized as a subclass of "verbs" is in my opinion largely a terminological matter.

grammars, and this is no doubt because in English the correlation between the form of words and their syntactic behavior is not dependable. In the existing grammars of Swahili, however, a great deal of emphasis is given to the morphological classification of verbs. For example, Ashton (1944) devotes some thirty pages (all of chapters XXXIV and XXXV) to verb derivation; that is, almost ten per cent of her grammar deals with this subject. The reason being that in Swahili (unlike English) there is quite a lot of correlation between the form and syntactic function of verbs. There are many examples of this correlation, e.g., the well known pairing of sentences with the base form of the verb and sentences with the applicative extension.

(17) Aliandika barua. "He wrote a letter."

(18) Alimwandikia babake barua. "He wrote his father a letter."

(19) Alikimbia. "He ran away."

(20) Alimkimbilia mama yake. "He ran to his mother."

(21) Alipiga simu. "He made a phone call."

(22) Alimpigia mkewe simu. "He phoned his wife."

Our purpose here is not to disparage the importance of this type of classification, either as carried out by Ashton or by other scholars who have pursued this line of investigation more recently (Scotton 1967; Eastman 1967). However, there is a danger in placing excessive reliance upon morphologically-based subclassifications of verbs in the analysis of Swahili grammar if we allow this emphasis to blind us to the importance of the contribution other types of verb classification can make to a more complete analysis of Swahili syntax.

Therefore I want to discuss a third basis upon which the verbs of Swahili can be placed in a syntactically relevant classification, namely, by grouping

together those verbs which behave similarly in relation to the formal restrictions they impose on the embedded strings with which they co-occur. I will devote the remainder of this paper to discussion of verb classifications of this type, which I believe have been somewhat neglected in the published literature on Swahili grammar.

It is useful, first of all, to distinguish six major types of embedding in Swahili, according to the form of the nuclear verb in the embedded clause:

I. Infinitive

II. Relative form of the verb

III. Verb form with the tense marker ki- (negative: sipo-)

IV. Subjunctive

V. Verb form with nge- and ngali-

VI. Others (i.e., the "primary tenses" or in other words the "indicative")

I am not going to spend much time on embedded clauses of type II such as:

(23) kitabu nitakachosoma "the book I will read"

(24) wakati niliposoma "while I was reading"

(25) mara ufikapo "as soon as you arrive"

and so on. I take it that embeddings of this type are well described in the traditional grammars of Swahili. The same is true of type III and type V embedded clauses such as:

(26) Ukifika Moshi, utashangazwa na wingi wa ndizi.

"Arriving in Moshi, you will be amazed by the abundance of bananas."

(10.4.1) Kama [udhaminifu] ungalikuwapo nilikuwa tayari kuushika kwa thamani yo yote.[3]

"If there was [any guarantee], I was ready to hold on to it at any price."

On the other hand I know of no systematic treatment among published studies on Swahili grammar of embedded strings of Type I, that is, those for which the nuclear verb of the embedded string is in the infinitive form. Embedded strings of this type co-occur with verbs belonging to the following subclasses:

A. "-wezesha" verbs

B. "-fikiri" verbs

C. "-pasa" verbs and comparable "copular predicates" (hereinafter referred to as CPs) which introduce the infinitive as subject--usually postposed

D. the same as subclass C except that the embedded infinitive functions as predicate nominal

E. "-weza" verbs, i.e., catenatives, and comparable CPs

F. "-ondoka" verbs, i.e., verbs which mostly relate to spacial displacement of all or part of the body and which introduce infinitival embedded strings denoting "purpose"

G. "-kuwa" when followed by an infinitival embedded string

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3. This sentence and almost all of those which I will cite for the remainder of this paper are from Shaaban Robert 1966. The number 10.4.1 indicates sura No. 10, page No. 4, sentence No. 1 of my own typescript of this corpus.

As we examine each of these subclasses in turn, listing some of its members and the formal restrictions which govern their co-occurrence with embedded infinitival clauses, the nature of the various subclasses should become clear. I think it is already apparent that the criteria by which they are defined are "surface structure" criteria. There are no doubt interesting deep structure relations between the various types of embeddings dealt with here and other features of Swahili syntactic structure. However, no attempt will be made here to explore these relationships in any detail, since to do so would be beyond the scope of this paper.

Subclass I.A "-wezesha" verbs

This subclass includes such verbs as:

-tamanisha "cause (someone) to desire to _____"

-shinda "be too much for (someone) to _____"

-zidisha "cause to _____ increasingly"

-fanya "make"

-vuta "attract"

-lazimisha "oblige"

-wezesha "enable"

-ita "call upon (somebody) to _____"

-zuia "prevent"

-saidia "help"

-ongoza "lead"

Examples of imbedded infinitives introduced by each of these verbs:

(1.1.9) Matendo [hayo] . . . yalikuwa hayawezi kutamanisha wengine kuyanakili.

"These deeds were unable to cause others to desire to copy them."

(2.1.6) Mamba [hayo] . . . yangalinishinda kuyatenda mimi peke yangu.

"Those things would have been too much for me to do on my own."

(6.1.2) Kila ongezo la mshahara lilizidisha uzito wa shughuli kulemea juu ya mabega yangu.

"Each increment in salary caused the heaviness of responsibilities to press increasingly upon my shoulders."

(8.2.3) Choyo [hicho] . . . kilifanya magawanyo kuwa magumu ajabu.

"This avarice made the division [to be] (deletion obligatory in English) . . . extraordinarily difficult."

(8.3.4) Tendo [hilo haliku-] . . . -vuta dunia nzima kutazama.

"This act did not attract the whole world to look on . . . ."

(9.1.1) Daraja yangu katika kazi sasa ilikuwa imeniwezesha kusafiri kama abiria wa cheo cha pili.

"My rank in my work had now enabled me to travel as a second class passenger."

(9.2.2) Alinilazimisha kushuka chini.

"He obliged me to get down."

(9.2.17) Niliita watu kuja kushuhudia mwamali niliotendewa.

"I called upon people to come and witness the way I was being treated."

(9.3.15) Mablanketi [hayo yali-] . . . -weza kuzuia mzizimo wake kutudhuru.

"These blankets were able to prevent its coldness from bothering us."

(10.5.13) Mimi nili- . . . -msaidia kuwasha.

"I helped him to light up."

(11.2.7) [Maisha hayo] . . . yatamwongoza [binti yangu] kunishtaki.

"This life . . . will lead my daughter to accuse me."

Now we must ask ourselves what are the formal restrictions on the co-occurrence of "-wezesha" verbs and the infinitival embedded strings they introduce. The following observations can be made:

1. the embedded string can be of any type, transitive, intransitive, bitransitive, copular, etc.; when it is copular following -fanya, the infinitive is deleted optionally, e.g.:

(10.5.6) Alikuwa na kila namna iliyomfanya mtu kuwa kiongozi bora.

"He had everything which makes a person be a good leader."

(13.1.1) Bahati ilinifanya [kuwa] (deleted) mshairi tangu 1932.

"Fortune made me a poet since 1932."

2. the subject of the embedded string is not the same as the subject of the "-wezesha" verb; where these coincide, the result becomes catenative, e.g. -(ji)zuia "keep oneself from _____-ing" as in the sentence:

(2.2.9) Nilishindwa kujizuia . . . kulia kama hivi . . . .

"I was unable to keep myself from . . . crying out as follows . . . ."

3. as the example just given also illustrates, the passive extension of a "-wezesha" verb can be catenative, e.g., compare -shinda "to be too much for (someone) to _____" vs. -shindwa "to be unable to"

Subclass I.B "-fikiri" verbs

The second class of verbs defined by their relationship to infinitival embedded strings in Swahili are the "-fikiri" verbs. This class includes among its members the following forms:

-fanya "imagine"

-fikiri "think"

-ona "feel"

as illustrated in the following sentences:

(6.1.8) Makarani wasiokuwa wenyeji katika idara ile walinifanya [kuwa] (deletion obligatory in Swahili) kama mwivu wao.
"The clerks who were not natives in that department imagined me to be 'like' envious of them."

(7.1.16) Kila mara niliona habari yake [kuwa] (deletion obligatory in Swahili) kama shindo la radi . . . .
"Each time I felt its news to be like a thunderbolt . . . ."

(12.2.11) . . . nili- . . . -yafikiri kuwa ni muhimu mno katika maisha.
"I thought them (i.e., mambo hayo mawili) to be extremely important in life."

The "-fikiri" verbs differ in one extremely important way from the "-wezesha" verbs, namely, they co-occur only with copular embedded strings. It is also interesting to note that -fanya is both "-wezesha" and "-fikiri", but with a semantic difference reflected by the English glosses "make" vs. "imagine".

Subclass I.C "-pasa" verbs and comparable CPs which introduce the infinitive as subject -- usually postposed

This subclass includes:

-faa "be suitable"

-baki (kwetu) "remains (for us)"

-pasa "be incumbent upon"

-lazimu "be necessary"

as illustrated in the following sentences:

(5.1.9) Ilikuwa haifai kuacha huzuni initopee kwa nguvu . . . .
"It was unsuitable to allow myself to be completely overcome by suffering . . . ."

(7.4.11) Imebaki kwetu kuomba apate heri aendako.
"It remains for us to pray that he have good luck wherever he goes."

(8.2.13) Ilinipasa kutenda niwezavyo.
"It was incumbent upon me to do what I could."

(9.2.6) . . . ililazimu vile vile yeye kunipa stashahada ya kuonyesha namna nilivyosafiri kutoka Korogwe.
". . . it was necessary likewise for him to give me assurance of showing how I was to travel from Korogwe."

It is interesting to observe that copular predicates which function syntactically in a way comparable to "-pasa" verbs are much more important than the latter, in terms of frequency of occurrence. The following CPs are found functioning as "-pasa" verbs in the corpus:

ni wajibu "it is fitting"

ni adimu sana "it is very rare"

si rahisi "it isn't easy"

ni bahati mbaya kabisa "it's very bad luck"

ni vigumu sana "it's very difficult"

ni kazi bure "it's pointless"

ni jambo la kuchukiza "it's motive for resentment"

si kusudi ya umbile "it's not natural"

si nia yangu "it isn't my intention"

ni nadra sana "it's very rare"

ni jepesi sana "it's very easy"

ni ajabu mno "it's quite extraordinary"

ni desturi "it's customary"

si vizuri "it isn't good"

ni vibaya "it's bad"

ni lazima "it's necessary"

ni aibu kubwa "it's a great shame"

ni juu yake "it's his responsibility"

CPs like these which function syntactically as "-pasa" verbs are so common that it is hardly necessary to give more than a single example:

(5.2.18) . . . ilikuwa si kusudi la umbile upweke kutawala mtu.

". . . it wasn't natural for loneliness to rule a person."

Subclass I.D the same as subclass C except that the embedded infinitive functions as predicate nominal

This syntactic construction is fairly rare; so it seems worthwhile to illustrate it by citing a few sentences from the corpus:

(6.2.2) Kazi yangu ilikuwa kukusanya ushuru juu ya mali zilizokuja na kutoka katika nchi.

"My job was to collect duties on the goods which came into and went out of the country."

(7.3.8) . . . wajibu wa amri ni kutiiwa . . . .

" . . . what is expected of an order is to be obeyed . . . ."

(9.2.12) . . . desturi ya matarishi wale ilikuwa kutii na kutimiza kila amri njema waliyopewa, na kuacha mbali kila amri mbaya . . . .

". . . the custom of those errand-boys was to obey and carry out every good command they were given, and to ignore each bad command . . . ."

(11.3.9) Nia yangu ilikuwa ni kuzidi kukaa Mpwapwa na kuendelea katika kazi yangu . . . .

"My intention was to continue to live in Mpwapwa and to continue on my job . . . ."

(11.4.2) Ombi langu la pili lilikuwa ni kubadilishana mahali na karani mmoja wa Idara ya Utawala.

"My second petition was to exchange places with a certain clerk in the Administrative Department . . . ."

Subclass I.E "-weza" verbs, i.e., catenatives, and comparable CPs

Here we are dealing with a subclass of verbs and comparable CPs which in certain respects resemble verbs of type I.C and I.D. defined above. The major difference is that the embedded infinitive clause appears as complement, not as subject, of the "-weza" verb. Compare the syntactic use of -faa as a "-weza" and as a "-pasa" verb:

(5.2.5.) Hawafai kuwa mfano kwa wengine.
"They are unsuitable to be an example for others."

(5.1.9) Ilikuwa haifai kuacha huzuni initopee kwa nguvu . . . .
"It was unsuitable to allow myself to be completely overcome by suffering . . . ."

In the Maisha Yangu corpus we find the following catenatives (the number in parenthesis indicates frequency of occurrence if more than one):

-weza "be able" (47)

-pata "get" (7)

-(kw)isha "finish" (7)

-anza "begin" (6)

-wezekana "be possible" (5)

-taka "want" (5)

-furahi "be glad" (5)

-(ji)andaa "prepare (oneself)" (4)

-(ji)zuia "prevent (oneself)" (4)

-jaliwa "be (providentially) assisted" (4)

-shindwa "be unable" (3)

-stahili "merit" (3)

-jaribu "try" (2)

-onekana "seem, appear . . ." (2)

-wahi "be in time" (2)

-achwa "be allowed" (2)

-thubutu "dare" (2)

-tangulia "have done beforehand" (2)

-zoea "be used to" (2)

-takiwa "be wanted, be needed" (2)

-sita "hesitate" (2)

-kosa "fail" (2)

-zidi "continue increasingly" (2)

-chelewa "be late in _____-ing"

-faulu "succeed in _____-ing"

-kusudia "intend"

-zuiwa "be prevented from _____-ing"

-tokea "appear"

-ficha "avoid _____-ing"

-penda "like"

-tazamiwa "be expected"

-tazamia "expect"

-huzunika (mno) "grieve (greatly)"

-ahidiwa "be promised"

-kawia "delay in _____-ing"

-kariri "to _____ again"

-nung'unika "complain . . ."

-husu "be due"

-(ku)ja "come and _____"

-omba "beg"

-amriwa "be ordered"

-dai "sue for the right to _____"

-chaguliwa "be chosen"

-kataza "forbids one to _____"

-jua "know how to _____"

-fuliza "persevere"

The following sentences illustrate the use of each of these verbs in a catenative construction:

(6.1.4) Nilitazamiwa kuweza kutenda mambo mengi ... . .

"I was expected to be able to do many things . . . ."

(10.4.10) . . . hata nikapata kuwa maarufu katika afisi nzima.

". . . until I got to be famous throughout the whole office."

(2.3.2) Wakati huo nilikuwa nimekwisha kupata watoto wawili.

"At that time I already had two children."

(5.3.6) Maisha yalianza kuwa mapya na kamili tena.

"Life began to be new and complete again."

(8.2.4) . . . fedha . . . huwezekana kugawanya juu ya meza sawasawa.

"Money can be divided on top of a table into equal parts."

(1.1.18) Nili- . . . -taka kunyosha mkono kuishika.

"I wanted to stretch out my hand to grasp it."

(6.2.1) Nilifurahi mno baadaye kuona uadui umekimbia . . . .

"I was very glad afterwards to see that enmity had fled . . . ."

(1.1.13) . . . nilijiandaa kusaburi . . . .

". . . I prepared myself to wait patiently . . . ."

(2.2.9) Nilishindwa kujizuia . . . kulia kama hivi . . . .

"I was unable to prevent myself from crying out as follows . . . ."

(7.2.4) . . . atajaliwa kuishi hata kuikamilisha . . . .

"He will be (providentially) assisted to live until he completes it . . . ."

-<u>shindwa</u> -- see (2.2.9) above

(10.5.5) . . . akanitendea yote mema ambayo mgeni hustahili kutendwa.

". . . and he did for me every good thing which a stranger deserves to have done (for him)."

(2.38) . . . ilinipasa nijaribu kutenda jambo jingine bora . . . .

"It was incumbent upon me to try to do something else good . . . ."

(5.2.7) Labda nitaonekana kuwa fedhuli juu ya jambo hili; . . . .

"Perhaps I will appear to be arrogant in this matter; . . . ."

(6.2.13) . . . sijawahi kulinganisha jumla ya fedha na stakabadhi . . . .

". . . I had not yet had time to compare the amount of money with the receipts . . . ."

(10.2.3) . . . wakati kosa kama lile la wazi lilipoachwa kuendelea . . . .

". . . while a manifest error like that was allowed to continue . . . ."

(7.1.8) Kwanza sikuthubutu kusadiki kuwa nilikuwa nimesoma mistari yake barabara.

"At first I didn't dare believe that I had read its lines correctly."

(7.3.14) . . . tena niliwahi kutangulia kuyaomba . . . .

". . . also I had already had time before to ask for it (i.e., mapumziko) . . . ."

(7.4.16) Nilikuwa nimezoea kusikia maneno mazuri kama haya mara kwa mara.

"I had become accustomed to hearing fine words like these from time to time."

(8.2.11) Kichwa baridi kilitakiwa kuzuia kama iwezekanavyo machafuko yaliyoonekana kutokea . . . .

"A cool head was needed to avoid if possible the anarchy which seemed to be about to break out . . . ."

(9.2.11) . . . kitu gani sijui kiliwafanya kusita kutimiza amri ya bwana wao.

". . . something-I-know-not-what made them hesitate to carry out the command of their boss."

(10.4.8) . . . hawatakosa kusamehe haraka niliyotenda.

". . . they will not fail to forgive the haste with which I acted."

(10.4.10) Nilizidi kushika kazi yangu kwa makini na udhabiti . . . .

"I continued increasingly to hold down my job with serenity and dignity . . . ."

(1.1.15) . . . mara nyingi huchelewa kwenda kwa mtu.

". . . often it is slow to go to a person."

(1.2.13) . . . mimi nilikusudia kulipata . . . .

". . . I intended to get it . . . ."

(1.3.5) Doa lo lote liwezekanalo kuzuiwa kuyaaibisha . . . .

"Any blot which can possibly be prevented from bringing shame upon it . . . ."

(2.3.10) Tenzi hizi hazikutokea kuwa sawa na malezi ya mama; . . . .

"These verses did not appear to be the equivalent of a mother's nurture; . . . ."

(5.1.18) . . . ili wafiche kuonyesha . . . .

". . . in order to avoid showing . . . ."

(5.3.4) . . . alipenda kujizuia kujadiliana na mimi juu ya mambo zaidi ya nusu yaliyotokea nyumbani.

". . . she liked to prevent herself from discussing with me things other than those which occurred within the household."

(6.1.4) Nilitazamiwa kuweza kutenda mambo mengi . . . .

"I was expected to be able to do many things . . . ."

(6.4.4) Nilitazamia kuondolewa wakati wo wote . . . .

"I expected to be dismissed at any time . . . ."

(7.2.19) Nilihuzunika mno kujiona juu ya ukingo kama vile wa mahamisho ambayo sikuweza kuyaepa pasipo kushutumiwa uasi.

"I was extremely grieved to find myself thus on the verge of a move which I couldn't avoid without being accused of rebelliousness."

(7.3.14) . . . nikaahidiwa kupata wakati ujao mara dhiki ya kazi ipunguapo.

". . . and I was promised to get it at some time in the future as soon as the pressure of work decreased."

(7.4.3) . . . haikukawia kuja.

". . . it was not slow to come."

(7.4.12) Twataka akakariri kutenda matendo mema . . . .

"And we hope he will do again the good deeds . . . ."

(7.5.12) . . . sitanung'unika kukosa [fahari] nyingine wakati ujao . . . .
". . . I will not complain of lacking other glory in times to come . . . ."

(8.1.8) . . . nusu moja tu ya mali iliyoachwa ilihusu kwenda kwake . . . .
". . . only half of the wealth which was left was due to go to her . . . ."

(9.2.17) Niliita watu kuja kushuhudia mwamali niliotendewa . . . .
"I called upon people to come and witness the way I was being treated . . . ."

(10.2.6) Naomba kukuarifu . . . .
"I beg to inform you . . . ."

(10.2.9) Kwa hivi ingekuwa bora sana kama ningeamriwa kurudi tena katika idara yangu ya zamani . . . .
"Therefore it would be much better if I were ordered to return again to my former department . . . ."

(10.3.8) Kisa hicho ndicho kilichonifanya nidai kurudi Forodhani tena.
"This story was what made me sue for the right to return to the Customs again."

(10.4.11) . . . nilichaguliwa kushiriki katika mchezo huo . . . .
". . . I was chosen to take part in that game . . . ."

(10.5.2) Deni la fadhili lakataza kuishiliza sura hii bila ya kusema maneno machache . . . .
"A debt of gratitude makes it impossible to bring this chapter to a close without saying a few words . . . ."

(11.1.10) . . . hukujua kusoma, kuandika, kuhesabu na mengine . . . .

". . . she didn't know how to read, write, do arithmatic and other things . . . ."

(13.3.2) Kwa shangwe la watu hawa nilifuliza kuandika hata mwisho wa vita.

"Due to the encouragement of these people I persevered in writing until the end of the war."

There are a couple of interesting things to be observed in connection with the syntax of the catenative verbs in Swahili. In the first place, it has already been stated that -<u>pasa</u> and -<u>lazimu</u> belong to subclass I.C; nevertheless, in the corpus we find each of these verbs used once as a catenative:

(13.2.13) Kama baada ya vita nilipasa kuhukumiwa . . . .

"If after the war I was due to be judged . . . ."

(13.1.15) Kama vita vililazimu kudumu kwa muda mrefu na utenzi ambao nilikuwa nikibuni ulilazimu kuwa mrefu vile vile.

"If the war must last for a long time then the poem which I was composing needed to be long likewise."

Instead of the anticipated forms:

(27) . . . ilinipasa kuhukumiwa . . . .

". . . it was incumbent upon me to be judged . . . ."

(28) Kama ililazimu vita kudumu kwa muda mrefu na ililazimu utenzi ambao nilikuwa nikibuni kuwa mrefu vile vile.

"If it was necessary for the war to last a long time then it was necessary for the poem which I was composing to be long likewise."

Obviously there are two different ways to account for these facts. The first is to say that -pasa and -lazimu belong to both subclass I.C and I.E, although they occur much more frequently as subclass I.C. verbs. The second is to say that these are subclass I.C. verbs and that their sporadic use as I.E. verbs can be attributed to a "slip" on the part of the author -- illustrating the difference between his "competence" as a native speaker and his "performance" as an autobiographer. Probably further research on this question could resolve our doubts; as a non-native speaker with a great deal of respect for Shaaban Robert's sensitivity for what is genuine in Swahili, I prefer the hypothesis of multiple subclass membership for -pasa and -lazimu, with the reservation that it takes a person of great linguistic skill to use them as catenative verbs and get away with it![4]

The second interesting observation to be made about catenatives concerns a phenomenon which can be called the "pleonastic passive." It sometimes occurs that when a subclass I.E verb introduces a passive infinitive, the catenative is also passive, for no "logical" reason. This occurs twice in the Maisha Yangu corpus:

(6.2.9) Hizi zilikosewa kuwekwa . . . .

"These failed to be placed . . . ."

(11.3.13) Gugu la ujinga lilikuwa limeanzwa kukatwa; . . . .

"The weed of ignorance had begun to be cut; . . . ."

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4. My most reliable Swahili informant, Mr. Willy David Kamera, a Tanzanian graduate student in English literature at Cornell University whose native language is kichagga, finds syntactic constructions in which -lazimu is used as either I.C or I.E equally acceptable; however, he considers the use of -pasa as a I.E verb "idiosyncratic".

Once again we must decide whether the pleonastic passive is an artifact of the difference between the author's "competence" and "performance" or whether this is simply a feature of Swahili grammar which further research will prove to function in a perfectly systematic fashion.[5]

In the Maisha Yangu corpus we find, in addition to the catenatives, the following CPs which co-occur in syntactically comparable constructions with infinitival clause complements:

(5.1.18) Watu hao ni tayari kabisa kukabili . . . .
"These people are entirely ready to put up with . . . ."

(5.2.1) Watu hao huona aibu kuungama mashaka haya.
"These people feel ashamed to confess these dilemmas."

(6.1.12) Miguu yangu ilikuwa tayari kwenda kutafuta urafiki.
"My feet were ready to go in search of friendship."

(6.2.4) Masikio ya Serikali ni mepesi sana kusikia mlio wa fedha.
"The ears of the Government are very quick to hear the sound of money."

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5. The pleonastic passive appears to be a perfectly regular feature of Swahili syntax, comparable -- for example -- to the pleonastic negative (e.g., no tengo nada "I don't have a thing") in Spanish and some dialects of English. If so, this can be demonstrated by eliciting a native speaker's response to sentences in sets such as:

(a) Nilikuwa nimeanza kula chakula hiki.
"I had begun to eat this food."

(b) Chakula kilikuwa kimeanzwa kuliwa.
"The food had begun to be eaten."

(c) *Chakula kilikuwa kimeanza kuliwa.

Sentence (c) is starred because my informant Mr. Kamera rejects it.

(9.2.11) . . . wakawa tayari kunijia . . . .

". . . and they were ready to come to me . . . ."

(9.2.18) Watu wengi walikuwa tayari kunipa sahihi za mikono yao . . . .

"Many people were ready to give me their signed testimony . . . ."

(9.4.1) Hakuwa tayari kushikana mikono na mimi . . . .

"He wasn't ready to shake hands with me . . . ."

(9.4.5) Bati na simenti vilikuwa adimu kupatikana.

"Corrugated tin and cement were hard to come by."

(10.2.4) Nilikuwa ni radhi kuwekwa chini ya wakubwa wangu . . . .

"I was willing to be placed beneath my superiors . . . ."

(10.4.1) . . . nilikuwa tayari kuushika . . . .

". . . I was ready to grasp it . . . ."

(10.5.13) . . . vibiriti vilikuwa adimu kupatikana.

". . . matches were hard to come by."

(11.3.2) . . . nilikuwa tayari kulipa kadiri yo yote . . . .

". . . I was ready to pay any amount . . . ."

(11.3.12) Nilikuwa si tayari kumwacha binti yangu katika ujinga.

"I wasn't ready to leave my daughter in a state of ignorance."

(12.1.10) Niliona fahari kubwa sana kufanya kazi chini yake.

"I felt very great pride to be working under him."

(12.1.16) Neno ahsante . . . lili- . . . -kuwa tayari siku zote kutoka . . . .

"The word 'thankyou' was always ready to come forth . . . ."

The close relationship between the verb classes defined as I.C, I.D and I.E is further illustrated by the "semantic equivalence" of sentences such as the

following, which also provides an interesting syntactic frame to illustrate the contrast between the base form of the verb -pata and the reciprocal extension of the stative, -patikana:

(29) Ilikuwa ni adimu sana kupata bati na simenti.
"It was very difficult to get corrugated tin and cement."

(30) Bati na simenti vilikuwa ni adimu sana kupatikana.
"Corrugated tin and cement were very hard to come by."

Subclass I.F "-ondoka" verbs, i.e., verbs which mostly relate to spacial displacement of all or part of the body and which introduce infinitival embedded strings denoting "purpose"

One way of indicating "purpose" in Swahili is to use an infinitival clause introduced by ili "in order to", e.g.:

(10.4.13) Husemwa kuwa Caesar wa Ufaransa alikuwa na desturi ya kukariri moyoni herufi za kirumi ili kupumbaza hasira . . . .
"It is said that the Caesar of France had the custom of repeating to himself the letters of the Roman alphabet in order to calm down his anger . . . ."

However, this construction with ili is actually rather uncommon. It occurs only twice in the Maisha Yangu corpus. Following verbs of the "-ondoka" subclass infinitival embedded clauses denoting purpose are found without ili; this subclass includes among its members the following verbs:

-simama "stand"

-nyosha "straighten out"

-tenda "do"

-pewa "be given"

-ondoka "set forth"

-safiri "travel"

-shuka "get off, get down"

-chukuliwa "be taken"

-ingia "enter"

-andika "write"

-enda "go"

-shika "grasp"

-(ji)weka "place (oneself)"

as illustrated by the following sentences:

(1.1.17) . . . nili-. . .-simama wima kuiendelea . . . .

". . . I stood up to follow after it . . . ."

(1.1.18) Nili-. . . -taka kunyosha mkono kuishika . . . .

"I wanted to stretch out my hand to grasp it . . . ."

(6.2.6) Nilitenda yote yaliyokuwa katika uwezo wangu kutimiza wajibu.

"I did everything in my power to fulfill my obligations."

(7.2.3) . . . mtu [huyu] . . . ali-. . .-pewa shoka na mundu kufyeka njia mpya katika pori kubwa.

". . . this man was given a hoe and a sickle [with which] to open a new trail in a great wilderness."

(7.5.5) . . . niliondoka Pangani kwenda Tanga . . . .

". . . I set forth from Pangani to go to Tanga . . . ."

(7.5.5) . . . kwenda Tanga kupumzika na kujiandaa . . . .

". . . to go to Tanga to rest and to prepare myself . . . ."

(9.1.3) . . . nikasafiri kwenda Mpwapwa.

". . . and I traveled to go to Mpwapwa."

(9.3.10) . . . mwendeshaji wetu ali-. . . -ingia nyumbani mwake kulala.

". . . our driver entered his house to lie down."

(10.2.5) . . . niliandika barua kwa Katibu Mkuu wa Serikali kusema kama hivyo: . . . .

". . . I wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary of the Government to say as follows: . . . ."

(10.5.13) Mimi nilishika taa kumsaidia kuwasha . . . .

"I held a lamp to help him to light up . . . ."

(13.1.16) . . . nilijiweka nyuma ya vita kufuata na kuandika maendeleo, marejeo, mapato na hasara zake . . . .

"I placed myself behind the war to follow and write its progress, setbacks, gains and losses . . . ."

We have characterized the "-ondoka" subclass as containing mostly verbs which relate to spacial displacement of all or part of the body. Actually, it is difficult to find a semantic criterion by which the verbs of this class could be set off from other verbs of the language. Basically the definition of this subclass, like that of the other subclasses of verbs we have described (I.A - I.E) must be made in terms of syntactic behavior, not semantic content.

Subclass I.G "-kuwa" when followed by an infinitival embedded string

The verb -wa "be" in Swahili has a number of functions which can be distinguished fairly readily:

1. <u>equational</u> Bwana huyu ni daktari.
   "This man is a doctor."
2. <u>modification</u> Kitabu hiki ni kikubwa.
   "This book is big."
3. <u>location</u> Kitabu chako kiko mezani.
   "Your book is on the table."
4. <u>association</u> Hamisi ana shilingi moja tu.
   "Hamisi has only one shilling."

These four functions require the verb -<u>wa</u> if tense is to be signalled:

past of 1. Bwana huyu alikuwa ni daktari.
"This gentleman was a doctor."

past of 2. Kitabu hiki kilikuwa ni kikubwa.
"This book was large."

past of 3. Kitabu chako kilikuwa mezani.
"Your book was on the table."

past of 4. Hamisi alikuwa na shilingi moja tu.
"Hamisi had only one shilling."

When -<u>wa</u> is used in its "locational" function, it can be followed by an infinitival embedded clause; the semantic content of this construction seems to be a matter of closeness or distance in space or time, as illustrated by the following sentences:

(1.1.f) Kichwa kilikuwa bado kuota mvi . . . .

"(My) head was not yet 'sprouting' gray hair . . . ."

(1.1.5) Uchovu ulikuwa kitu kigeni kukiona mwilini.

"Fatigue was a strange thing to feel it in (my) body."

(7.1.10) Nilikuwa karibu kusema kuwa barua ile si yangu.

"I was on the point of saying that that letter wasn't mine."

(7.2.15) Njia [hiyo] . . . ilikuwa karibu sana kunipeleka mahali nilikokuwa nikienda.

"This road was very near to taking me to the place where I was going."

(7.4.5) Huyu wa pili alikuwa kushika mahali pangu . . . .

"This second one was to take my place . . . ."

(7.4.5) . . . na yule wa kwanza [alikuwa] kushuhudia makabidhiano yetu . . . .

". . . and the first one was to witness our handing-over-of-the-responsibilities-of-office . . . ."

(7.5.3) . . . wenzangu wengine walikuwa bado kufikiwa na wakati wao wa safari.

". . . my other companions were not yet arrived-at by their time to travel."

(9.3.14) . . . tulikuwa karibu kufika mwisho wa safari yetu . . . .

". . . we were nearly arriving at the end of our journey . . . ."

Unfortunately limitations of time and space make it impossible to go on to the verb subclassifications which arise from the consideration of the co-occurrence of certain subclasses of verbs with embedded clauses of Type IV (subjunctive embedded clauses) and Type VI (indicative embedded clauses). However, enough

has been said already to indicate that some interesting results emerge when one begins to classify verbs in relation to their co-occurrence with these various types of embedded clauses. These results are interesting for a number of reasons. In the first place, they are immediately applicable in the language classroom. The materials which we have at the present time for teaching Swahili are by and large adequate for phonology, good-to-excellent for morphology, and rather poor for syntax; therefore, any improvement in our equipment for teaching this part of the structure of the language should be welcome. In addition, it is only after we have a good understanding of the surface structure of embedded clauses in Swahili that we can begin to investigate deep structure with some hope of success. From what has been said above it should be clear that the structure of embedded clauses in Swahili is strikingly similar to that of Indo-European languages such as English and Portuguese -- the two with which I happen to be most familiar.[6] In these days when the investigation of grammatical universals is a live issue, it seems to me that the comparative study of embedding in genetically unrelated languages is one area in which research is bound to pay off.

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29 March 1970

6. For a comparison of English and Portuguese catenatives see Eastlack 1967.

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